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THE WAR.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. C. BENEDICT,

IN THE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK,

APRIL 6, 1864.

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SPEECH.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the Governor's Message, Mr. BENE-DICT said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN: The ability with which this discussion has been thus far conducted on both sides, should, perhaps, have induced me to keep silent. It has, however, seemed to me that there was a view of public affairs suggested by the Message, which might be usefully spread before the Committee. I shall not, therefore, apologize for occupying the time of the Committee, nor for recalling facts and principles already familiar to most of us. They seem to be necessary to the completeness of the view which I desire to present.

In speaking of the Message and of the Governor himself, I shall use no asperity—I feel none. He does not differ from me more widely than I do from him. I like to speak of him as a gentleman universally esteemed for his excellent personal qualities, and as a statesman of experience and ability—I am, however, compelled to say, a statesman holding and teaching the most dangerous doctrines as to the nature and structure of our Government and the true policy of the nation—all the more dangerous for the dignified moderation and plausible ability with which he states and inculcates them.

It is of little importance to us what may become of a Governor or a President—Mr. Seymour or Mr. Lincoln—but it is of vital importance to us all to know what is the Government which our fathers gave us—what is really the Constitution under which we live—what is the distribution of its powers, and what are the principles which we must maintain if we are to sustain it. Individuals pass away and leave but little trace; but Governments are immortal, and their history is the experience of ages. I speak of him only as the representative of his party and their principles—the ablest advocate—the oracle of his party—its leader and head.

THE WAR JUST, NOT CRUEL.

Everything, Mr. Chairman, turns on the war, and this war is called by the Governor a “cruel” war; a common and suggestive phrase, but, Sir, in the proper sense of the word “cruel” this is not a cruel war, on the side of the Government. It is the Rebellion that is cruel. The war is a necessary, just, useful and glorious war. It is a war for the great cause of republican government—a war to maintain our national existence. It will give to this nation a strength,

a prosperity, a glory, and a place in history which no other nation has ever had, and which are necessary to its perfection and its great destiny.

Nothing is better for a country than the blood which is spilt in defense of the rights and liberties of its people, and of the nationality of a good Government. It fills it with the memories and the virtues of patriotism. With what an exuberance of charity, what a wealth of private donation, has the Sanitary Commission visited the camps, thousands of miles apart, with oil and wine for the sick and wounded soldiers; and the Christian Commission, with sacred words of comfort for the living and the dying (donations already amounting to more than \$212,000,000)! Think you that these prayers and these alms have not gone up for a memorial before God? We needed this war to quicken our patriotism into greater activity, to teach us the value of our institutions, their true nature, their strength, and the love we should bear them. This war digs up and mellow the soil, which the blood of heroes and the blood of traitors will fertilize and strengthen for abundant harvests of all the great necessities of national life.

If this war shall teach to the South the value of a various industry, embracing the necessities of life and the useful arts, and make labor free and honorable, it will be worth to the South more than it has cost her.

Compare the average value of the land in the Free States and Slave States, as given by the census of 1856:

| | Average value per acre. |
|---|----------------------------|
| New England..... | \$20 27 |
| Middle States..... | 28 07 |
| Southern States..... | 5 34 |
| Southwestern States, without Texas..... | 6 26 |
| Texas..... | 1 44 |
| All the Slave States..... | 4 90 |

There is nothing but slavery to make this wonderful difference. The number of acres of land is 469,312,160; if by the introduction of freedom that land should be raised to the value of the hard and less practicable land of New England, the gain would be more than seven thousand millions of dollars. To the North the war will be even more valuable, when the persons who have hitherto been neither purchasers nor consumers, shall enjoy the family life, the homes and the comforts of freemen, and shall add to the productions of industry and the accumulations of thrift, vast treasures of wealth,

which shall thus be opened to the profits of our trade and commerce.

But I seem to hear the question, what of the dead? What of the bones that whiten so many battle-fields? Can the dead be recalled to life? Can these dry bones live? There has come from the four winds a breath that has breathed upon these slain, that they already live. Who would not cherish, in his heart of hearts, the memory of his kinsman, who had died in the defense of his country in this war? I do not look upon death as so great an evil as many do—certainly not death for liberty and country; better die so than by the slow disease. How many of those that live to malign and embarrass the Government, and after the war is ended, shall live in the contempt of the patriotic and the good.

"May envy the deep, long, blessed sleep
Of the battle field's holy ground,"

How proud our people are of their dead! Marble and bronze are already making up their record.

VIOLENCE AND FRAUD INEVITABLE IN WAR.

In war nations seek their rights by violence. In war, that is lawful which in peace is unlawful. One murder makes a villain, thousands a hero! The rights of property, and of liberty and of life yield to the demands of force.

Fraud is dishonest and dishonorable in peace; and yet fraud, stratagem, deception, ambush, stealth, surprise and falsehood are honest and honorable in war.

In war men of violence and dishonesty, under the pretense of patriotic zeal, are always elbowing their way forward into positions of influence, and power, and profit, and by a natural elective affinity they combine, and there is a constant tendency towards violation of law, towards fraud, corruption and peculation, and towards private emolument and public plunder. Fortunes easily made in war have been its striking characteristic from the earliest period of civilization, and they bring with them that luxury and extravagance so injurious to social morals and private and public economy.

He who defines war without putting into his definition all these elements fails to make his definition complete. The temptations and the vices of war are proverbial, and they extend to every department of the public service; from the soldier that robs a hen-roost to the contractor that robs the army and the nation.

I say this in answer to those who arraign and villify the Administration and the Government because prices are high, because some man connected with the war has been guilty of some wrong, some officer has been guilty of peculation, some contractor has been detected in some fraud, or some military man has been found unequal or false to his trust. There has never been a war which has not been characterized by such features. Nobody denies them, and everybody should lament them.

MILITARY NECESSITY.

This is a war on our own soil and against our own rebellious people, who have their friends

and abettors scattered among the loyal; and it is the most remarkable instance in which it has been necessary to apply the rules and laws of war to a case of such magnitude and complication. It has been necessary to exercise powers, the necessity of which springs out of these circumstances.

I invite the attention of the Committee to one or two authorities on the subject of national necessity and the powers that spring from it.

Blackstone says: "No practical system of laws is so perfect as to point out beforehand those executive remedies which national emergencies will dictate and justify." A simple truth of elementary law, illustrated by all history, and as beautifully and forcibly expressed as it is true

Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Dr. Brown in 1808, says:

"I did wish to see these people get what they deserved, and under the maxim of the law itself, that *inter arma silent leges*, that, in an encampment, expecting daily an attack from a powerful enemy, self-preservation is paramount to all law, I expected that instead of invoking the forms of law to cover traitors, all good citizens would have concurred in securing them. Should we have ever gained our Revolution if we had bound our hands by the manacles of the law, not only in the beginning, but in any part of the Revolutionary conflict?"

"There are extreme cases when the laws become inadequate, even to their own preservation, and when the universal resource is a dictator or martial law."

General Jackson has furnished us a practical illustration, equally striking. His arrest of Judge Hall, at New Orleans in 1814, is familiar to us all; but there is still another case, at the same period. I will read it:

"General Jackson had heard that the Legislature of Louisiana, then in session in New Orleans, meditated an offer of capitulation to the British. He ordered Governor Claibourne, should such a determination be manifested, immediately to arrest the members of the Legislature, and hold them subject to his further orders; and the Governor in consequence placed an armed force at the door of the Capitol, and prevented the members from meeting."

Similar treatment of the members of the Maryland Legislature, when they were about consummating their treason, is, perhaps, the most important event, as it is the most high-handed, but justifiable measure of this war.

On the 12th of April, 1861, the Rebel Secretary of War, in a speech at the Rebel capital, said:

"The flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the old capital at Washington before the first of May."

Who did he expect would raise it there so soon if it were not the Northern allies of rebellion—the present peace party. The rebels then held no sufficient armies to send to capture Washington. They looked to northern allies.

The loyal rising at the North of all parties having surprised the rebels, hear the *Richmond Enquirer* of April 23d:

"The capture of Washington is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland. * * From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild spirit of fierce ardor to capture Washington city at all and every human hazard."

Had that legislature of Maryland been allowed to assemble, the city of Baltimore would probably have taken the place of Richmond, and have

remained so till a favorable opportunity might have been offered Jefferson Davis to proclaim himself President of the United States from the capitol at Washington, when his government would have been immediately recognized by all the monarchical nations of the old world, as the Government of the United States, and we should have been compelled to submit or to fight the world in arms.

This right of self-preservation at all hazards, belongs to nations as to men by the law of nature. If you find a burglar in your house you do not talk to him about the grand jury, nor go and make a complaint before a magistrate, but you throttle him, and, if necessary, kill him. The idea that you must go through the forms of law and thus give him a chance to escape is too absurd for any sensible man to believe. So in the case of national danger, to preserve the nation, those charged with its defense, may do any thing that may be necessary, and are bound by the law and the constitution to do first, that which is most prompt and effective, and this as well outside the lines of the army as within them. A spy or a traitor within the lines of the army, is not half so dangerous as in the peaceful councils of the government—or in the midst of the mails, the telegraph, and the steamers which communicate with all the marks of the world, and with the nations that are in sympathy and communication with the rebels. These powers of self-preservation are all implied in the word "Government."

There may have been some instances where innocent and patriotic men have been arrested by mistake. But it is not their arrest that has caused the outcry in certain quarters against arbitrary arrests. It was not till the arrest of Vallandigham that Governor Seymour declared that we must pause in our efforts to save the Government. I shall read to you one of the scenes in which he was acting through the country. In a speech in Newark, N. J., he said:

"Shall the Democratic party be induced for one moment to strike hands with those who desire to change the purposes of the Administration, and bring it back again to a war for the Union, when the whole people united cannot accomplish anything before the 4th of March, 1865? Will the war continue during that time? ('Never,' 'never!' from all parts of the room.) *Will you send your sons again to the battle field?* (Overwhelming, enthusiastic and unanimous cries of 'No,' 'no!' 'Never,' 'never!' 'God forbid!' 'Not if I know myself!') *Shall they be conscripted to carry on this war for two years more, and for the negro?* (Tremendous outbursts. Yells, cheers. Cries of 'No, never.' 'Let them try it.' 'See them d—d first.' 'We defy them.')

This was his endeavor to prevent volunteering in New Jersey. It was for such scenes within the lines of the army that he was arrested and sent outside the lines. I cannot easily credit the sincerity of those who profess to doubt the power of the Government to make such arrests when none but the quickest measures would avail to avert the danger.

SLAVERY THE CAUSE AND PURPOSE OF THE REBELLION.

A glance at the past will discover the germ of this cruel Rebellion, its principle and purpose.

In 1832 and 1833 the trouble in South Caro-

lina, springing out of the tariff, was terminated without bloodshed. The traitors of South Carolina, abandoned their purpose of then going into rebellion. But Gen. McDuffie, the leading nullifier, on the last day of the nullification convention of South Carolina, "adverted to a certain species of industry owned and used at the South, and said that, although one principle (the tariff) seemed to be silent for the present, yet another was in agitation for the future." And Gov. Hayne, the President, in responding to a final vote of thanks, told the members that "they ought to have it indelibly impressed upon their minds that the great battle is just begun."

Thus was foreshadowed this war, and the orators of this rebellion in 1861, were justified in saying, before the war was a month old, when some one suggested the idea of pacification: "What? Shall we give up that for which we have been laboring for 30 years?"

They had determined at that time (1832-3), as soon as the opportunity should present itself, to raise again the standard of treason and rebellion against the authority of the General Government for the purpose of building up an empire, the corner-stone of which should be slavery, and the constructive agency of which should be state sovereignty.

I shall refer to some of their steps in their proslavery march:

Under the decision of the Postmaster General, Mr. Amos Kendall—the same gentleman who recently presided over the meeting to nominate General McClellan for the Presidency—Postmasters were allowed in 1835 to open the mails and search for and destroy what they considered objectionable matter relating to slavery, forwarded by the mails.

As an illustration of the insults to which it subjected us, I take from a newspaper of that period (1835) the following:

"A Southern Postmaster writes to a friend in this city as follows: 'Yesterday, while examining the mail in search of incendiaries, I discovered a letter written on a beautiful sheet of pink paper. I broke it open, and behold it was a love letter from our old friend, Miss — to young — of this village. It would make you laugh to read it.' Only hear the impudent scoundrel."

A few months later (1836), Mr. Calhoun introduced in the Senate, a bill prohibiting the carrying in the mails under heavy penalties on the postmasters, any "paper printed or written touching the subject of slavery." The bill received a majority vote in the Senate, by the casting vote of the Vice President, then a candidate for the Presidency. Col. Benton and Mr. Clay voted against it—Mr. Buchanan, of course, voted for it. It however did not become a law.

Under the political dictation of the South, the House of Representatives, in 1837, prohibited the introduction of petitions on the subject of slavery, and for years and years, no matter what the petition might be, if it had relation to that subject, it was practicably thrown under the table. The resolution was as follows:

"Resolved, that all petitions, memorials, propositions or papers relating in any way or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid on the table and that no further action whatever be had thereon."

the venerable John Quincy Adams, who, after having been President of the United States, was elected a member of the House of Representatives, was, week after week, in 1838, brutally bullied and threatened, only because he presumed to assert his rights and express his opinions in Congress, as a representative of the State of Massachusetts.

In Nov., 1844, Massachusetts sent Mr. Hoare, an eminent citizen and counselor of that state, to South Carolina, to bring an action in Charleston, before a court there, to test the constitutional right of South Carolina to seize and imprison colored citizens of Massachusetts, because of their color. He took his daughter with him to enjoy, as they supposed, the hospitalities of Charleston, but, when his business was known, he was threatened with clubs as he walked the streets. The people were assembled and assembling in groups, and he was told if he started soon, he might get safely out of the city. The sheriff and other public men took part in the proceedings, and the legislature, by a majority of 191 to 1:

"Resolved, that his Excellency, the Governor, be requested to expel from our territory the said agent after due notice to depart, and that the legislature will sustain the executive authority in any measure it may adopt for the purpose aforesaid."

And Mr. Hoare and his daughter had to flee for their lives. Mr. Hubbard, another eminent lawyer, who had been sent on a similar agency to New Orleans, was compelled to flee. The Recorder of the city, with other public officers having warned him.

"If you do not promise to leave the city immediately your life is not safe this night; and if I should take you into custody I could not protect you, for they would murder me in a moment; and if you stay here another night your life will certainly be taken."

More recently, a United States Senator, Mr. Sumner, for a speech against slavery, was beaten almost to death with a bludgeon-cane, in the Senate Chamber, by a Southern Member of Congress; and the perpetrator of this murderous assault was made a hero over all the South—public dinners and public meetings glorified him, and ornamental canes, almost by the cord, were presented to him, as tokens of approbation of his cowardly attack.

These are but specimen outrages of this character, by which the South indicated their determination to extend slavery and its tyrannies and brutalities all over the nation. A large portion of the people of the North determined to resist the further encroachments of slavery by all legal and constitutional means, and united in the Republican party; others submitted patiently and justified them. And in the convention that nominated Mr. Buchanan, Judge Black, of Pennsylvania, arose after the nomination was made, and said, "Pennsylvania says to the South, where thou goest I will go, thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God;" and under the spirit of that declaration Mr. Buchanan was elected. In 1856, Governor Wise, of Virginia, a proslavery fanatic, declared that if the Republican candidate should be elected, he would raise 200,000 men and march to Washington to prevent his inauguration. He was not elected, and

the rebellion was postponed, and more thorough preparation for it was made during Mr. Buchanan's administration, who had surrounded himself with a cabinet made up, with a few honorable exceptions, of Southern men, or men of Southern sympathies, destitute of principle and patriotism, and had given himself into their hands.

The tolerance, on our part, of these outrages, naturally brought further advances of power. They demanded that slavery should be permitted and protected by the Government in all the territories; and to remove the only barrier, as they supposed, they repealed the Missouri Compromise, under which all the slave States on the Gulf had been admitted to the Union. They sought, by the power of the Government, by fire, and sword, and blood, to force slavery upon free Kansas, every part of which was above the Compromise line. The North then determined to try the peaceful power of the ballot box in earnest on the question of the extension of slavery. The result was the election of Mr. Lincoln and a Republican House of Representatives. The South determined then to raise the standard of treason, revolt and rebellion; to establish a slave empire whose Capital should be Washington, and whose eastern frontier should be New York—to overthrow the best of governments for the purpose of establishing on its ruins the worst and wickedest possible government.

I need not repeat how, under Mr. Buchanan, they stole the treasures and bonds of the Government, robbed our arsenals and navy yards and forts of our munitions of war, and sent them to the South, and sent our vessels of war into distant seas. Treason rampant in the cabinet; the army debauched, corrupted and scattered, the treasury depleted, the arms and munitions of war given to the traitors, and the President declaring to Congress and the nation that the Government could not make war upon or invade "a sovereign State," open war was commenced by the traitors with the desperation and malignity of demons.

NO CAUSE OF COMPLAINT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

And this was without any pretense or allegation that they had any cause of complaint against the Government of the United States. They had indeed complained of the speeches and conduct of a few individuals at the North, who had expressed themselves freely against slavery; but against the Government of the United States they never uttered a whisper.

From that government they had received only favors. It gave them every advantage. It gave them the seat of government in the midst of Southern laws, Southern prejudices and Southern slavery. It gave them a ratio of representation by which the South was entitled to almost double the representation in the Congress of the United States that we were. Up to 1856, while we had one member of the house for each 20,000 white males, they had one member for 12,000; while we had one senator for each 113,000 white males, they had one for 48,000. And so, of the highest honors—out of the sixty-eight years, the country was 20 years only in the hands of Northern presidents, and forty-eight in the hands of South-

ern presidents. Of the high officers who have most influence in the affairs of the government, the preponderance in favor of the South had been equally striking.

| | Free States. | Slave States. |
|-----------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| Presidential terms, | 4 | 12 |
| Attorneys-General, | 6 | 15 |
| Judges Supreme Court, | 11 | 17 |
| Presidents of Senate, | 16 | 61 |
| Speakers of the House, | 11 | 21 |
| Total, | 48 | 126 |

And this, while by the census report, the white males over 21 years of age, were in 1852, in the

| | |
|---------------------|-----------|
| Free States, | 3,644,341 |
| Slave States, | 1,452,973 |

Difference, 2,191,365

The reason for seeking the life of the nation was not anything the Government had done, but because the people had lawfully elected Mr. Lincoln, and the slavery supremacy was in danger.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

To make their rebellion plausible, they founded it on the idea of state sovereignty, of which nullification was the first-born, as secession is the last-born and favorite child. It is this idea that the Governor seems to have adopted. This Southern idea of state sovereignty, is the underlying vice of this message.

We often hear the Union spoken of as "this confederacy." The other day, the Governor, in a public address spoke of our government as one "of state sovereignties and national unity" evidently considering the sovereignty as existing in the states and not in the general government. That is the doctrine of the message. Let me call your attention briefly to his principal grounds of complaint.

"*The national bank system.*"—So necessary and so valuable to give us a currency, every where known safe and equal, the greatest want of our business and our travel,

"*The national paper money and the legal tender.*"—Without which the war could never have been prosecuted, arms could not have been procured, nor ships built, nor men raised nor paid—a temporary expedient, giving us all a pecuniary interest in the government.

"*The draft.*"—Without which we could have no sufficient army, for without the impending draft, volunteering would have been slow and insufficient. The opposition to the draft was factious and treasonable.

"*The shielding of officials*" of the government from vexatious lawsuits.—Without which the disloyal might throw them into prison to the embarrassment and overthrow of the government.

The suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Without which traitors, and spies, and plunderers might be left at large in our midst to betray the country by giving aid and information to the enemy, and thwarting all our plans of attack and defense.

The acts of the President "by virtue of his position as Commander-in-Chief."—Without which the war must have ended ignominiously as soon as it began. If the President could have done nothing to preserve, protect and defend the United States till authorized by new acts of

Congress, he would have been driven from Washington, and Jefferson Davis and his constitution would have been inaugurated there before July 4, 1861.

"*His being sustained by both houses of Congress and by a large share of the people of the country.*" The President's popularity—there's the rub—that national popularity which is his strength and his only solace, except an approving conscience and the signal favor of Divine Providence.

These are the Governor's complaints. Who would thus arraign his government in such a time as this? Thus heat its enemies and encourage them. Thus cool its friends and alienate them. Now let us see where his hope lies. I read from the message:

"If these measures of military, political and financial consolidation break down, their failure will show the wisdom of the Constitution in withholding from the General Government powers it cannot exercise wisely and well; and it will establish the rights of the States upon a basis firm and undisputed, and will make the General Government strong by confining it to its proper jurisdiction. In the end we shall return to the principles from which we have been drifting."

How he hopes to see the Government in which we must live or have no life "break down" in its conduct of the war! How he desires to see it prostrated and humbled at the feet of the States! If the military, political and financial measures break down, his only hope is that then we shall have the States in their proper place, then we shall have the proper sovereigns, then we shall have a General Government that will know its place and work submissively in the service of the thirty-one States, bound together as under the old confederacy by a rope of sand that every rivalry or combination of commerce or power or party will break, while the antagonism of pride and jealousy would keep them in perpetual bickerings and strife.

From the utterances of their party from every part of the nation, it is quite clear that the Governor and his party have adopted as the leading article in their creed, and the basis of their attack upon the Government, this idea of state sovereignty which is as fallacious as it is pernicious. This I propose briefly to examine.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY NOT IN THE CONSTITUTION.

In the Constitution of the United States, the organic frame of our Government, there is no foundation for the sovereignty of the States, nothing upon which a respectable argument can be made in favor of such a doctrine.

The Constitution provides what are the powers of the General Government and its various departments, the legislative, the judicial, the executive and the constituent.

It also explicitly declares what the States cannot do. It provides that

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land."

Not a league, not a compact, not a power of attorney, but "the supreme law of the land;" an expression of great significance and force.

"And the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

And the next clause provides that :

"The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath, or affirmation to support this Constitution."

Thus while the Constitution and laws of the United States are superior to all state constitutions and laws, and no officer of the General Government is called upon to swear fealty to a state constitution, every state officer is called upon to swear to support the Constitution of the United States. We are all of us here, officers of the United States—so is the Governor himself—all of us have functions to perform in the General Government, which we have sworn to perform faithfully.

Before inquiring what the Government may do, let us see what the States may not do, for upon that depends the question of state sovereignty.

WHAT THE STATES MAY NOT DO.

The Constitution which is the supreme law of the land, and is also a portion of the organic law of the state, says, "*No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation.*" How can that state be called sovereign, which another government rightfully forbids to enter into any treaty, or alliance, or confederation. That single clause strips the states of the first great paramount element of state sovereignty. The right to make a treaty, an alliance or confederation is the first and simplest right of a nation.

Is a state plundered? Is she insulted in any of those ways in which one nation may insult another, she has no power, or right, of redress, for the constitution says, "*No state shall grant letters of marque and reprisal,*" what a mockery is such a sovereignty! You may sweep her commerce from the seas and she cannot retaliate, you may refuse to pay her what you owe her and she cannot collect it from your property. When our Divine Lord would demonstrate the Roman sovereignty in Judea, He looked at the coin and asked, whose image and superscription is this," they said, it is Cæsar's, "then" said he, render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." If Cæsar makes the coin of the country, then Cæsar is your sovereign and you are tributary to him. They were silenced. So let the constitution silence this claim of State sovereignty. "*No state shall coin money.*" Will you call a state sovereign, that has not the power of putting the image and superscription of sovereignty upon the smallest coin, which circulates in its dominions—not a paltry penny. Coinage is a universal attribute of sovereignty. *No state shall "emit bills of credit."* The United States forbids it. Nor "*make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts.*" The United States forbids it. "*Nor pass any bill of attainder.*" The United States forbids it. Nor "*any ex post facto law.*" The United States forbids it. "*Nor law impairing the obligation of contracts.*" The United States forbids it. Nor "*grant any title of nobility.*" The United States forbids it. "*No state shall, without consent of the congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for exe-*

cuting its inspection laws." How can that be called a sovereign state which has not the right to tax the commerce that comes into it, without asking the permission of a higher power. "*No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage,*" still the prohibition and the consent of the superior power. Nor "*keep troops or ships of war in time of peace.*" In peace, prepare for war, is the salutary maxim of sovereign states, and is it possible that we have here a sovereign state without the power to keep an army or a navy, no matter how small, to maintain its sovereignty. It cannot even prescribe the discipline for its own militia. They must be trained "*according to the discipline prescribed by congress.*" But further, "*no state shall enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, without the consent of congress.*" What, no agreement of co-operation—no compact of mutual aid—no bond of friendship, even between the states!

I repeat, these one and all are the characteristic elemental rights of sovereignty. No state can properly be called sovereign that has not all of them, yet no state of this Union has one of them. There is nothing like sovereignty in the individual states. Daily during our sessions the Stars and Stripes floats over our capitol to declare under what sovereignty we legislate—the same National Flag that waves over 20 degrees of latitude, and 60 degrees of longitude between Eastport and the Capes of Florida, and the Rio Grande, and the Golden Gate, and the Straits of Fuca, and over every ship of the vast fleets that whiten the seas with our commerce and our fisheries. The states have seals which are sometimes painted on armorial banners, but they have no flags. If a ship should go to sea with a flag flying, bearing the arms of the great State of New York, there is no vessel that sails the ocean that would know what flag it was. No American vessel ever thinks of having on board the flag or banner of a state.

STATE RIGHTS.

The States have rights and duties most sacred and important. These rights are to be preserved as much as those of any individual, community or body, but their rights are not the rights of a sovereign; they are not masters of the Government in anything. There are many things peculiar to the States—State rights—but there is nothing in which they are sovereign or superior to the United States, and nothing in which they are permitted to dictate to the United States. They are bodies politic, constituent—parts of that Government which was created by the Constitution of the United States and therein designated as "*The Government of the United States,*" whose general purpose, powers and duties are so clearly and fully set forth in the opening clause of the Constitution, which declares the purpose and powers of the Government as a whole—the distribution and limitation of those powers being set forth in the articles and sections of the constitution.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

The gentleman from Suffolk (Mr. PLATT), treated this subject as though the United States

derived their power from the articles of the confederation, and the States had the same powers as under those Articles. But the articles of confederation created no Government at all. The confederation had no legislative power, no executive power, no judicial power. It could not pass a law, could not execute a law, could not decide a controversy. It could not impose a tax nor raise a dollar. It could do nothing but advise. The States were bound together by nothing but the fraternal sympathy and the common dangers of the war.

The confederation expressly provided "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence." Art. 2. It was "a firm league of friendship of the States severally with each other." Art. 3. As soon as the war was over the organization had no force of cohesion and no element of power. The sovereignty of the States was the destructive vice of the system. The greatest statesmen of the country, fearing that we were going to destruction, by State antagonism and national weakness, determined that an effort must be made to create "a Government of the United States" and give it vigor and supremacy. Mr. Madison and Gov. Randolph, Mr. Jefferson and General Washington—great leaders in public affairs—conferred by letter on the subject. Mr. Madison, then in Congress in New York, Feb. 25, 1787, said:

"Our situation is becoming every day more and more critical; no money comes into the Federal treasury; no respect is paid to the Federal authority, and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing confederacy is tottering to its foundation; many individuals of weight, particularly in the eastern district, are suspected of leaning towards monarchy; other individuals predict a partition of the States into two or more confederacies. I hope you are bending your thoughts seriously to the great work of guarding against both."

A few weeks later, March 11, 1787, he said of the delegates to the convention from this State:

"Col. Hamilton, with a Mr. Yates and a Mr. Lansing, are appointed by New York. The two latter are supposed to lean too much toward State considerations to be good members of an assembly which will be only useful in proportion to its superiority to partial views and interests."

In another letter, a few days before the convention, April 8, 1787, he says:

"I am also perfectly of your opinion, that in framing a system no material sacrifices ought to be made to local or temporary interests. * * I hold it for a fundamental point that an individual independence of the States is utterly irreconcilable with the idea of an aggregate sovereignty. * * Let the national Government have a negative in all cases whatever on the legislative acts of the States, as the King of Great Britain heretofore had. This I conceive to be essential, and the least possible abridgment of the State sovereignties."

THE CONVENTION.

When the convention met, May 29, 1787, Mr. Randolph presented resolutions embracing the result of a previous consultation on the subject, and substantially agreeing with Mr. Madison's views. Those resolutions were the basis of the action of the convention, and to them the constitution may be traced.

In the convention there were two schemes proposed—that by Governor Randolph, of Virginia, which I have mentioned, and the other by Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey. They were

justly characterized in debate by Mr. Lansing, of this State, June 16, 1787.

"Mr. Lansing called for the reading of the first resolution of each plan, which he considered as involving principles directly in contrast. That of Mr. Patterson, says he, sustains the sovereignty of the respective States, that of Mr. Randolph destroys it. The latter requires a negative on all the laws of the particular States, the former only contains a general power for the general good. The plan of Mr. Randolph absorbs all power except what may be exercised in the little local matters of the States, which are not worthy of the supreme cognizance."

When the two plans came to a vote the scheme of Mr. Patterson was voted down, and after two days was never again entertained; while the convention went on to perfect Mr. Randolph's plan, giving it the form of the present constitution of the United States; making the United States the sovereign power—one great nation under an entire Government, of which the States as organized divisions, bodies politic, are necessary constituent functional parts, for local, domestic legislation and social order, and for constituent action and nothing else. Gov. Randolph was the first Attorney General and the second Secretary of State under the new Government.

THE CONSTITUTION.

That constitution not only denied to the States all the attributes of nationality and sovereignty, but in the most solemn and explicit manner conferred them on the Government of the United States. That constitution declares that it was made "To form a more perfect Union, to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States."

For these purposes it organized "the Government of the United States" and prescribed its general functions—the legislative department, with power to lay all sorts of taxes, to borrow money, to regulate commerce, naturalization, bankruptcy, money, weights and measures, to coin money and to punish counterfeiters, establish post offices and post roads, to give authors and inventors their copyrights and patents, to declare war and raise and support armies and a navy, to regulate the land and naval forces and the militia, and to make all other laws necessary for enforcing the constitution and all the laws of the United States, and all the powers of its Government and the departments thereof. It organized a judicial system to dispose of all cases arising under it—an Executive Head, entrusted with the civil authority and the army and the navy and the militia, and clothed with the power and bound to the duty—bound with an oath upon his conscience—to faithfully preserve, protect and defend the United States and its constitution to the best of his ability—when the life of the nation is in peril, the authority and the discretion to select the means and direct the modes of preserving it, being limited only by his good faith, his conscience and his ability. And all this is "the supreme law of the land," above State laws and constitutions and governors and judges.

This is "the Government of the United

States," given to us by the God-inspired men who, really wiser than they knew, laid broad and deep and strong, the foundations of a nation then so feeble, now so majestic and powerful. This is the Government whose measures of self-defense in its great strife for national life—and such a strife!—the Governor desires to see "break down." Shall I venture the reason why? Because the traitors for years have been his party associates and friends—the very reason why he should have done as the great body of the Democratic party did, turn upon them with the feeling of insulted party pride, with resentment and patriotic indignation, to spurn, to despise and to crush them.

For the purposes of war, for the purpose of defending and preserving the nation, our Government has all the powers which any nation ever had, and our President all the power that any commander-in-chief or National Head ever had, and that power may be exercised wherever the national flag has a right to float. So far as national rights and duties are concerned, so far as the family of nations is concerned, so far as war is concerned, it is our only Government.

THE OLIVE BRANCH DEMOCRACY.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It has been stated and I have not seen it contradicted, that Gov. Seymour being asked if he had seen the Constitution of the Southern Confederacy, replied that he had and that he liked it better than our own. Now, the difference between those two constitutions is, first, this doctrine of state sovereignty, which is the fundamental idea of the right of secession, and, second, the making slavery the corner stone of the new government, as a humane institution—a divine institution—the true relation of labor to capital.

When the war broke out, with what enthusiasm the people of all classes and all parties rose up in defense of our flag—the Stars and Stripes waved from every steeple, from every liberty-pole, from every house and almost from every window to express their devotion to the nation. Soldiers hurried to the field. We believed that with such union and enthusiasm we would soon put an end to the war. But we learned that the South expected friendly co-operation here, and some of our democratic leaders were seen holding back when the masses were warm with patriotic ardor. The leaders were first silent. Then they talked ominously of the prospect. Then they could not rejoice over bloodshed. Still the great mass of the old democratic party which may well be proud of its traditions and history, came out for the war and upheld the flag and the government. We liked them none the less because they resented the insult, which expected from them aid and comfort to the enemy, and brought down their heel in a spirit of vengeance upon the head of the treason that sought to disgrace, while it destroyed their party and threatened their country with destruction. They preferred their country to their party. But those of the leaders who sympathized with the South, kept up the party organization and went for the olive branch, for peace and concession. Where is the Olive Branch Democracy now? In every

state that remains true to the old flag, with the exception of New Jersey, they are in a feeble minority. If there be a state in the Union, except the State of New Jersey and the State of New York, which has even a governor who holds his allegiance to the present one horse democratic party, the olive branch party, I do not know it. I believe there is not one. All the traditions of the Democratic party are on the side of the government against the world; but those men who hold doctrines of state sovereignty, and secession, and the paramount rights of slavery, are now constantly attacking and vilifying the government—and the Governor is their leader. Their principles and their practices are exhibited in their best form, in this message setting forth their grievances, their hopes and their position. They are for concession and peace.

The Governor says:

"I do not agree with those men upon the one hand, who insist upon an unconditional peace, or with those upon the other extreme, who would use only unqualified force in putting down this rebellion."

That is their way of treating the rebellion, taking the olive branch in the right hand and the sword in the left, and with honeyed words asking the rebels if they will not be so good as to discontinue fighting, at least for the present, till we can talk it over and endeavor to make it all right with them, as it was. Under false pretenses they induced some to join them, whom we had not expected to lend themselves and their character to combining and leading such discordant masses of unloyal and dangerous men. Who could dream of seeing the old war horse of the democracy as we call him in New York, galloped into Tweddle Hall with Fernando Wood before, and James Brooks behind? After that, who wonders that the puritan and the black-leg, and the Irishman and the know-nothing, rushed into each other's arms and in tears of joy washed out the memory of their past differences and then threw up their caps for their united candidate, who, when elected, was to stop the draft, prevent any man from being arrested against his will, open the doors of Fort Lafayette and defend the sovereignty of the State of New York.

A few days before the election he attacked the administration, mainly for its military inefficiency, quoting from Union papers: Then weak and doubting Union men were deceived, for like him, they were abusing the Government and its measures, and declaring that it lacked party energy; that on the sea it was weak, on the land dilatory, and in finance ignorant. They voted for Governor Seymour, to secure a vigorous prosecution of the war! There is no reasonable doubt that Governor Seymour received more than ten thousand such votes, and he was elected by only about ten thousand majority in more than six hundred thousand votes. But the party and the Governor have ever stood and now stand on their original principle of opposition to the war and to the Government and its measures, right or wrong, on the principle of State Sovereignty, and the right of secession, and the principle of hostility to slave emancipation

in any form, even as an indirect result of the war. Look beyond the studied phrases and chosen words of the Message—scratch through the polish of it anywhere—and you will find its true internal quality of secession and slavery.

This Message from beginning to end is a long—ing for the day when the General Government shall feel the power of the States, when all the great measures of the nation shall break down, when the measures resorted to by the Government to maintain itself and overthrow the rebellion shall break down. When the right of the States to dictate terms to the General Government is established, who does not see that secession will have succeeded, that the rebellion will have triumphed, and the Union will be divided and dissolved, and ages of war be the destiny of both sections, subjected as they will be to slave hunters, custom houses and commercial restrictions, on an imaginary frontier of vast extent.

Many things in the Message, which you are at first disposed to approve, on a second look you find have the same drift. No matter what the subject is, if it relates to the General Government, his opposition is everywhere apparent. This opposition is the only thread of his consistency. Some one said something about his being sincere. Of course he is sincere—no man more so. Politically he is delivered over to strong delusions that he may believe—but I will not complete the quotation—but I will say that those delusions have wrought his political ruin. No one can fail to see that however sincere he may be in his professions of patriotism, unless his principles and his conduct fail to exhibit him truly, his sympathies are more with the Rebels than with the national Administration. He does not desire a dissolution of the Union, but he prefers to preserve it by concessions rather than conquests. He would prefer it with Jefferson Davis and the confederate constitution, rather than with Abraham Lincoln and the constitution of the United States. He prefers the cornerstone of slavery and the ashy cement of the right of secession.

THEIR ALLIANCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

It is no wonder that the leaders of his party put themselves in communication with the representative of that nation in whose ports have been built and manned and armed and supplied and sent forth those wandering pirates which are lighting up the midnight of every sea with our blazing ships, loaded with the harmless cargoes of peaceful commerce. It is a fact that shall stand forth alone in our history as a burning shame, that as soon as the election of Governor Seymour was ascertained, those leaders had confidential intercourse with Lord Lyons, the British Minister, the proper representative of that aristocracy which desires our ruin.

On the 17th day of November, 1862, Lord Lyons wrote to Lord John Russell as follows :

"SEVERAL OF THE LEADERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SOUGHT INTERVIEWS WITH ME, BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF THE INTELLIGENCE OF GENERAL McCLELLAN'S DISMISSAL. *The subject uppermost in their mind while they were speaking to me was naturally that of foreign mediation between the North and South.* MANY OF THEM SEEMED TO THINK THAT THIS MEDIATION

MUST COME AT LAST ; but they appeared to be very much afraid of its coming too soon. It was evident that they apprehended that a premature proposal of foreign intervention would afford the radical party a means of reviving the violent war spirit, and of thus defeating the peaceful plans of the conservatives. They appeared to regard the present moment as peculiarly unfavorable for such an offer, and, indeed, to hold that it would be essential to the success of any proposal from abroad that it should be deferred until the control of the executive government should be in the hands of the Conservative party.

"I gave no opinion on the subject. I did not say whether or no I myself thought foreign intervention probable or advisable ; BUT I LISTENED WITH ATTENTION TO THE ACCOUNTS GIVEN ME OF THE PLANS AND HOPES OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY. AT THE BOTTOM I THOUGHT I PERCEIVED A DESIRE TO PUT AN END TO THE WAR, EVEN AT THE RISK OF LOSING THE SOUTHERN STATES ALTOGETHER ; but it was plain that it was not thought prudent to avow this desire."

They unfolded to him their plans, they hoped Great Britain would not act hastily, but wait till this conservative olive branch party should get control of the executive Government of the United States, and then intervention in behalf of the Rebels might be more desirable and more successful ! I have no heart to dwell upon this disgrace.

Did they think of placing General McClellan at the head of the executive Government ? His name is conspicuous in the letter of his Lordship.

GENERAL McCLELLAN.

My colleague, Mr. Curtis, in his speech, adverted, by way of illustration, as he said, to General McClellan. I do so also, to illustrate the pernicious influence of opinions which he holds in common with the Governor.

In my judgment Gen. McClellan has unintentionally inflicted a vast injury upon the country. I think the greatest misfortune of the war was the honest but mistaken advice which induced the President to place him at the head of the army of the Potomac. No one can estimate the years of war, the blood, the death, the cost, of his delays. I concur in the opinion of a distinguished General :

"He attributed Gen. McClellan's failure to no want of ability or education, but to the fact that he rose too rapidly, was intoxicated by his elevation, and afraid to make a bold step, least it should be a false one. Moreover, he allowed himself to be manipulated by politicians, and bewildered by the false lights which they held out before him."

How, during this delay, the South hurried up their forces—how they reinforced every army—how they strengthened every post—how they gained heart and courage for their people—how they gained sympathy and money and ships and arms and hopes of recognition—how the rains filled the swamps and made them pestilential ! God only knows how many men lost their lives in those terrible months on the peninsula.

We all know now, that had the campaign been vigorously pushed from Fortress Monroe toward Richmond, that capital of rebeldom would have been taken, with little sacrifice of life, in less time than the one month he wasted in getting over the 20 miles from Fortress Monroe to Yorktown.

We remember how, during the fall and winter of 1861, he lay before Washington with an immense army, which he brought to almost un-

equaled perfection. There he lay with such an army close to the enemy. From the top of the Capitol you could almost see the Rebel hosts that defied us and boasted of their impregnability. The nation was fretful with chagrin, that they had been permitted thus to strengthen themselves in our very sight.

Finally they retreated, and then it became known that they had been there only in comparatively small force, that their fortifications had all along been supplied with wooden cannon; and then we blushed with shame that no reconnaissance, no scouts even, had revealed to him their weakness. Listen to his warm friend and confidential Aid. The Prince de Joinville says:

"McClellan had long known, better than anybody else, the real strength of the Rebels at Manassas and Centreville. He was perfectly familiar with the existence of the wooden cannon, by which it has been pretended that he was kept in awe by them six months."

This simple fact lets in a flood of light upon his character. Knew all the while that the Rebel works were a sham! and that with his army he could any day have moved down upon them and captured them, or put them to inglorious flight! And they all the time strengthening themselves, with the proud old world beyond the deep that prayed night and morning for our destruction, and jeered at our inferiority and the hopelessness of our cause!

So on the peninsula, when he landed at Forttress Monroe, on the 6th of April, the rebels had but 10,000 men there, and when he arrived at Yorktown in May he found it vacated. The Rebels, largely reinforced, had retreated before he knew it, and were now in sufficient force to meet him and fight the bloody battle of Williamsburg. Then more weary delays, the sickness of the Chickahominy swamps, flooded with recent rains; then the desperate but glorious battles of the seven days, and after three full months thus spent, our army, beaten but not conquered, cut up but not annihilated, was at Harrison's Landing, some 80 or 90 miles from where it started, and the Rebel capital left in safety, with abundant leisure to make itself, as it has proved thus far, impregnable, and the Rebel Government stationary and, in foreign eyes, permanent, within dangerous proximity to our own capital.

I believe that McClellan would have fought with desperation to defeat an invasion of the North. I fear also that he never intended to make a successful invasion of the South, that his policy was to let each side keep on its own ground; the South at home, and the North at home, and that bye and bye, what Governor Seymour calls "wise statesmanship," would settle the difference between the North and the South by new concessions to the South, and new and stronger guaranties to slavery. An intelligent writer in England says:

"The nomination of Gen. McClellan is looked upon here as an anti-war movement. I do not know how it may be 'over there,' but here it is believed that McClellan has always been opposed to the war; that he never wished to take Richmond, and was careful about doing any damage to Jeff. Davis, and that the only time he exerted his real ability as a commander was when he defeated Gen. Lee's invasion of the North at the battle of Antietam. This Southern feeling it is

said, was the real cause of his removal, and this is why he is nominated as a peace candidate for the Presidency."

Again the Prince de Joinville says:

"They broke out into a chorus of accusations of slowness, inactivity, incapacity—McClellan with a patriotic courage which I have always admired, disdained the accusations, and made no reply."

I too, admire a man who in the midst of unjust attacks patiently waits, conscious that time will vindicate him. They called McClellan a "Quaker General," and said that he did not want the North to conquer, they even called him a traitor. He bore it all without a word of complaint. But there came a time when they "cut him in the raw," and he was indignant. Governor Curtin, a democrat of the old school, was Governor of Pennsylvania. He had from the beginning of the war, been active in the cause of the country in raising troops and sending them to the field, in caring for the soldiers, ever on the move, now in Harrisburg, now in Philadelphia, now in Washington, now in camp, always thinking of the country and working for the Government. Last fall he was a candidate for re-election. Judge Woodward, the judge who granted the injunction against the draft, was the opposing candidate. Some editor not having the fear of God before his eyes, said that General McClellan was friendly to the re-election of Governor Curtin, and that statement reached General McClellan's ear. Now he could stand without wincing attacks upon his capacity as a General and his patriotism as a citizen, but he could not stand a charge of being friendly to Governor Curtin. That was too much, and in the hurry of only a day before the election, he wrote this letter:

ORANGE, New Jersey, }
October 12, 1863. }

Hon. Chas. J. Biddle:

Dear Sir—My attention has been called to an article in the Philadelphia Press, asserting that I had written to the managers of the democratic meeting at Allentown, disapproving of the objects of the meeting, and if I voted and spoke, it would be in favor of Governor Curtin. I am informed that similar assertions have been made throughout the state. It has been my earnest endeavour to avoid participation in party politics, and I had determined to adhere to this course, but it is obvious that I cannot maintain silence under such misrepresentations; I therefore request you to say that I have not written any such letter, or entertained any such views. I desire to state clearly and distinctly, that having some few days ago a full conversation with Judge Woodward, I find that our views agree, and I regard his election as called for by the good of the nation.

I understand Judge Woodward to be in favor of the prosecution of the war, by all the means at the command of the loyal states until the military power of the rebellion is destroyed.

Believing that our opinions entirely agree on these points, I would, were it in my power, give to Judge Woodward my voice and my vote.

I am very respectfully yours,

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

This Judge Woodward, with whom he sympathized, is he that decided that the General Government has no power to make a draft, and that the real supreme power which belongs to every nation under heaven—the power to compel the military service of its citizens to defend its existence—resides not in the government of the United States, but in the states.

And what does Judge Woodward believe about the war which so commends him to General

McClellan? Does he believe in prosecuting it with all the power of the government till the rebels shall return to their duty, and a permanent peace is established. Oh no! It is with "all the powers at the command of the loyal states." He wants the loyal states, not the government to carry on the war—he wants it prosecuted till the "military power" of the rebellion is destroyed, and that is all. He does not say that he desires that the war measures of the government may "break down," but no one I think can fail to believe that the phraseology of that letter was chosen with the greatest care, for the purpose of expressing his entire agreement with Woodward's well known ultra belief in this doctrine of state sovereignty, and the sacredness of slavery, the worst crime against civilization and humanity—against God and his image—to which all that party cling with so much tenacity—which consigned Calhoun, and McDuffie, and Hayne to inglorious graves, and Woodward, and Valandigham, and Seymour, and McClellan to lives how much less glorious than they might have been.

THE NATIONAL BANK AND THE CURRENCY.

The Governor complains of the national banking system of paper money and legal tender. It is sufficient to say that the plan of the government is to have banks belonging to individual citizens located in all the states, which shall furnish currency of uniform value throughout the country, and fully secured by the stocks of the United States, as the bank currency of this state is secured by public stocks. Can anything be more acceptable and valuable to the people than such a currency thus secured—having the advantages and not the evils of that monstrous corporation whose dying throes convulsed the Nation thirty years ago—binding us all in the same great bond of pecuniary interest in the Government paper money! The United States never had any but a paper currency. We have had gold in the vaults of the banks, and a few dimes in our pockets, but the business of the country has been done always with paper money, and always will be, and a paper currency of equal value throughout the country and secured by the national credit will be one of the incidental benefits produced by this war, and will be of great advantage to the country.

The legislation in relation to the currency in substance declares that the people shall trust the Government to the end of the war. The Government furnishing certificates of indebtedness, in large sums, its stocks, for investment on interest, and in small sums in convenient form to pass from hand to hand, and to be taken instead of money—the credit of the Government being pledged for its redemption at the end of the war.

These certificates are the counters by which we keep the game of business, and when the game is concluded the balances will be adjusted and the money paid to those who hold the counters.

The ignorant and evil-minded call them irredeemable. But they are no more irredeemable than the bank notes of solvent and specie paying banks. There has never been a day when

the banks could, on demand, redeem in specie their whole circulation. Its redeemability and their solvency and strength always depended upon their credit and the confidence of the public.

Those who believe that the Government will "break down" may throw away their paper money—those who believe that the States will destroy its pillared firmament, would better stand from under; but those who have confidence in its ability and honesty—cautious capitalists and shrewd business men—will invest millions daily in its bonds and gather in its currency. At the end of the war the Government currency will be funded, and the bank currency take its place with a silence and celerity which will astonish the croakers.

How can it fail to be paid? It is said the debt of the nation will be \$3,000,000,000, the interest upon which, at five per cent, is \$150,000,000. The expenses of carrying on the Government after the war will be a hundred millions more, making the aggregate amount of moneys to be raised each year \$250,000,000.

The expenses of Great Britain—a little island in the sea—have been \$350,000,000 a year for the past half century, and those of France still more. Cannot this young, vigorous and elastic nation bear as much—with many times as many acres of public lands for sale, as all the acres of those two countries, and those public lands embracing the richest mines the world has ever known—with a foreign and domestic commerce of vast extent—with productions of every variety from the tropics to the frozen North—spanning 60 degrees of longitude—with the internal revenue tax, and the customs, and population increasing at the rate of more than three per cent a year. \$350,000,000 a year will pay expenses and pay the whole debt in thirty years—and being mostly raised by indirect taxation, will not be felt as a burden.

THE CURRENCY NOT INFLATED.

I know the croakers are gloomily predicting the explosion when the bubble of an inflated currency shall burst. War always brings high prices, and returning peace low prices, and when peace shall return to us that change of prices will cause many and great losses; but there is no reason to fear a general destructive crash like 1816, 1837 and 1857. The people were never freer from debt than now; the country never owed less to foreign countries than now; we never owed less to the banks than now; farms were never more productive—the producers were never more prosperous: the banks have never done a safer or more profitable business, or had less to fear for their securities, and never was their circulation less. How, then, is the currency inflated? It is not inflated to any dangerous extent. If there be no more paper circulation afloat than is necessary for the real business transactions of the country—no more than the makers and issuers of it are able to redeem—no more than has been issued on real transactions in sound exchangeable values—then it cannot be properly said to be inflated. John Law and the French assignats have no

analogy with our condition, and they are used as bugaboos to frighten inexperience and timidity. The most superficial theorists cannot hold that those rules of political economy which are based upon the working of human affairs in the normal condition of peace, when industrial and productive life moves in easy and accustomed channels, shall show the same results in the disturbed, the violent and exceptional state of war. It is not necessary to charge the high prices to an inflated currency, when all foreign goods, and all customs, and all interest on the public debt, must be paid in gold, and a large portion of the gold in this country is in the hands of speculators, and monopolizers and extortioners. When the laborers are gone to the camp and the battle-field—the oxen and cows to the slaughter-house for the army—when all agricultural products are in great demand for the army—and the producers have become destroyers and consumers, the high price of gold and of produce is measurably attributable to the same cause, an inadequate supply for an imperious and increasing demand, and the high prices of most articles of luxury, and of many of mere utility, are justly chargeable to that unworthy spirit of gain, of trade, and of mere speculation, which, in times like these, makes the false price of gold an excuse for raising all prices, simply because purchasers will pay them, and which, in heaven's chancery on high, is considered a spirit of plunder.

THE PURPOSE OF THE WAR NOT CHANGED.

But they tell us that the purpose of the administration and the object of the war is changed—that what was once a war for the restoration of the Union has become a war of abolition, and they cannot now go with us in a crusade against the domestic institutions of sovereign States.

Mr. Lincoln, trusting in God, left his western home to assume the duties of his office. Predictions of assassination were common. Secession democrats said knowingly, he will never be President. Finally, the warning of intended murder in Baltimore reached him. His remarkable height and appearance were almost everywhere familiar. Yet with a single attendant, he took his seat in a public railroad car of the regular train for Washington through Baltimore in the night, the time for murder, and he reached Washington at early dawn and took his way to the house of Mr. Seward. Romance has no story of heroic trust and daring to compare with it. At a breakfast table, some secession democrats were told "Lincoln is here"—an inadvertent start and exclamation—"how did he get through Baltimore?" revealed the certainty and the knowledge of the plot to kill him.

After a brief delay—in the sight of the people on the steps of the Capitol—he took the oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

His original declaration to the nation, at that time, was:

"I shall take care that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the states."

"The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts."

Are not these still his purpose and object? The means have been changed. The President has manifested that high integrity, intelligence, practical wisdom and freedom, from the pride of opinion which has been willing to learn from the logic of events as they arise. When 75,000 men proved insufficient, he called for more, till a million of men had gone to the field. What a change! When our friends over the water were ready to supply the enemy with all the means of war, he blockaded three thousand miles of coast so closely, that the enemy have never been able to take in a single prize for adjudication, but have been compelled to burn them on the sea. For this new purpose of blockade, the 74 ships which constituted our navy, and had been sent to foreign seas by precautionary treason were wholly inadequate, and the 588 vessels which now perform the duty, have been extemporized, and the wooden craft of old fashioned war have given place to ironclads and monitors, and the little cannon of old have given place to ordnance throwing shot of 500 pounds a distance of five miles. Do you not remember Norfolk? After that came Port Royal, and New Orleans and the opening of the Mississippi—what a change! And from McClellan to Grant—what a change! Cotton was king, cotton was to break the blockade, cotton was to furnish the rebels with supplies of ships, arms and munitions of war and foreign loans; but the President, true to his purpose, shut up their king, and now none will do him reverence. When we discovered whence they got their food for their armies, we changed our purpose and cut them off from Texas, and we occupied Tennessee and Kentucky. When we found that slavery was really their corner-stone, the President wisely set to work to mine it. When they said that they relied upon their slaves to work their fields, and to dig in their trenches, and if necessary to fight their battles, the President thought so too, and invited them to our side and now 130,000 of them find what they never found before, the Stars and Stripes, the flag of their freedom, the object of their pride and worship, for which they are ready to die on the battle-field. When the mine under the corner-stone shall explode, none know better than the olive branch men that the rebel government will topple down, and Freedom will be herself again. None know better than the Governor, that all these subordinate purposes are only new efforts with more powerful means to accomplish the original purpose. Why do the Olive Branch men now propose with so much earnestness that "wise statesmanship" shall end the controversy? It is their own statesmanship that they wish should take the place of the statesmanship of Lincoln, and Seward, and Chase, and Stanton and Welles. It is to drive them from office and put in their places men who will negotiate with and offer concessions to rebels and traitors, new life and new guaranties to slavery, and compromises with "sovereign states." Rebellions are not put down so. It was the clubs of the police and

the grape and canister of the soldiers, not the wise statesmanship, the promises and advice of the Governor, that took our metropolitan city out of the hands of the rebels and saved our state from being carried over to the enemy last July. An armistice and negotiation will only give time and rest for rebellion to strengthen itself for a new beginning of the war. They will make no peace except on the recognition of their independence.

Mr. Lincoln came to his great office to find all the United States south of the Potomac and west of the Mississippi in revolt. Their organized government had already an army—imbecility and treason had allowed them to seize our forts, and mints, and treasures, and arsenals and arms—our little scattered army of less than 20,000 men was paralyzed by treason—our little navy of 78 ships, brigs and schooners was scattered to the ends of the earth—the money lenders of Great Britain and the continent declared that we could not borrow the sinews of war—the aristocratic nations of the old world had sent up their derisive shout, "The model republic is no more" and they sympathized with the rebellion, furnished it money, and arms and ships, and were daily expected to recognize its nationality. Now how is it? The navy—588 vessels paid for, manned, and armed, and sailed and fought. The army—the Governor says two millions have volunteered—all fed, and clothed and paid! What battles and triumphs by and sea land, what terrific agencies of war have startled the old nations. The Government owes, the Governor says, two thousand millions of dollars, but its credit was never better than now. A new loan is taken with avidity, and while we have still vast and difficult regions to recover, the old flag floats proudly in every state of the Union—and the nations of Europe how differently they look on the matter now! No one now sees from any quarter, the faintest glimmer of hope of recognition left for the rebels. What under God has wrought these miracles? The statesmanship of Lincoln, and Seward, and Chase, and Stanton and Welles. Shall we exchange it for that of Seymour, and Vallandigham, and Wood, and McClellan and Brooks?

SLAVERY IN THE FUTURE.

Now a word upon the subject of slavery, and I will close. What a blessed thing it will be if God in his Providence has furnished in this slaveholder's rebellion the occasion for us lawfully to get rid of slavery. We supposed that the constitution had fastened it upon us, that while the parties continued to work on in their usual way slavery would go on forever. Sentence against the evil work was not executed speedily. More than two thousand years ago the declaration went out from God through the voice of his holy prophet, "Cursed be he that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." This was not a curse upon the poor victim of oppression, but upon his master. Go to the blasted fields and burning products of the South, and look at the masters now and see where the curse is. God gave the master over to strong delusions, that he might believe a lie and be damned, politically and socially. His heart

was hardened that he would not let the people go.

It is common to say that slavery is dead. We believe that slavery is in its last days, but this is only true if we do our duty. What may be the result, if by any means the party represented in the message of the Governor, should gain the control of the National Government at the coming election—is the all important question, which we must answer to ourselves—to our children—to our country—and to God.

Look at what the organs of this party say, look at their theories—what is their uppermost reason for opposing the war? Because it will abolish slavery. Because that happens to be a consequence of the war, they say it is the object of the war, and therefore the war must cease. If they succeed, the war will cease ignominiously and slavery will revive triumphantly.

Before the war I was one of those who did not seek to interfere with the industry and institutions of the South so long as they were local and peculiar and peaceable, but I shudder now at the thought of slavery coming out of this war triumphant, and if that should be the result I should look upon it as the curse of God upon this nation. And if that party should succeed and practice upon its avowed principles slavery will be stronger in twenty years as an industrial system and a political institution, than it ever was before.

We say that slavery is dead because we believe that party will not succeed. But, what do they say? Take up any of their newspapers, any day in the week, and see what they say about the "everlasting nigger." Look at their party resolutions and see what they say about the domestic institutions of the States, which is their velvet phrase for slavery. Sir, give that party control of the government again and Western Virginia, which, after fifty years of unwilling servitude, has established the right to freedom, and is to-day a state under the constitution, will be remanded to slavery. They will declare the act creating that new State with free institutions unconstitutional, and exclude her representatives. And the new governments of Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Virginia and Maryland will be declared, also, to be unconstitutional. Do they not tell us everywhere that when the military power of the rebellion is destroyed, the old States will spring up anew with their former constitutions, laws, officers, people and domestic institutions, and then may not John Slidell and his associates, Jefferson Davis included, again be back in the Senate and be acknowledged the true senators and the fugitive rebel Governors return to their executive chambers and be acknowledged the true Governors. Those who wanted Vallandigham governor of Ohio, what will they not do? Their pride and their revenge will be to undo all that has been done. They can thus secure and perpetuate their power by Southern votes. Give them the power but once, and the fugitive slave law will send back to slavery the slaves who have been freed, who have dug in our trenches, who have bravely fought on our battle fields, and have worn our uniform. They will be sent back to the rice swamps, the cotton fields and

the cane brakes, to live and die under the yoke of bondage. The emancipation proclamation unconstitutional; the confiscation act unconstitutional; the enlistment act unconstitutional, all null and void!

They will say that every man who was ever a slave is still a slave, those acts and proclamations to the contrary notwithstanding, and that under the fugitive slave law they can be reclaimed and carried back to their masters, and with a President and both houses of Congress, who shall say nay to that decision. Besides if every slave man were free they might be cast into prison and sold for their jail fees; and even if they should escape to lands of freedom still slavery would exist and thrive as in a hot bed; for by the law the child follows the condition of its mother, and with two millions of female slaves so valuable as breeders, how soon we should have an entire race of mulatto slaves. The language of the presses and orators of this peace party all over the country, leave no doubt as to the purposes of that party. They resist everything that tends to overthrow slavery, and they belie and slander all who befriend the slave.

Before this war the character of the wives and daughters of America have been held sacred; but now the patriotism and humanity of the sex have been so conspicuous and so opposed to slavery that the organs of the peace party have disgraced their columns by low and indecent attacks upon them.

The Albany *Argus*, the New Hampshire *Patriot* and the Chicago *Times*, under the old regime of Democracy, were respectable journals. They are the radiating points of the party now, but how changed! I shall read two brief paragraphs, both clipped from the *Argus*, to show what they say now and how they repeat and indorse the indecencies of each other:

"WHO THEY ARE.—The following are in favor of a vigorous protraction of the war:"

All the abolitionists.

All the contractors.

All the shoddy manufacturers.

All the Loyal League women, who are loyal to Lincoln and disloyal to their husbands.

The political clergy.

The devil and his imps."

"The New Hampshire *Patriot* is responsible for the information that, of the New England school marms who went to Port Royal, sixty-four have been obliged to start private nurseries on their own account for the use of little mulattoes.

"Our abolition cotemporaries will undoubtedly designate this a slanderous falsehood; and, we will remark, that we agree with them to the extent of pronouncing it a case of lying-in so far as the school marms themselves are concerned.—*Chicago Times*."

If they succeed let us not hope for an end of slavery nor for a feebler and milder form of it. The slavery of the past chastised us with whips, the slavery of the future will chastise us with scorpions; the slaves of the past were black and brutish and stupid, the slaves of the future will be yellow and pale and intelligent, more welcome to the embraces and more profitable to the

purses of their masters, not only as breeders but as more skillful, intelligent and productive laborers. The slave aristocracy will throng our watering places and roll through our cities and towns with more than oriental splendor with their white slaves, and their yellow slaves, and their black slaves, and armed with a new and worse fugitive slave law, we may be compelled, under heavier penalties, to hunt their fugitives and deliver them on their plantations, and perhaps then will be realized the prediction of the organ of the rebel government:

"So far from believing that Slavery must die, we have long held the opinion that it is the normal and only humane relation which labor can sustain toward capital. When this war is over, we shall urge that every Yankee who ventures to put foot on southern soil be made a slave for life, and wear an iron collar as a badge of inferiority to the Africans."

But take the opportunity which God has offered and destroy the enemy of our nation, put down the rebellion forever—cement the Union indissolubly, and open the southern country to free industry—then lift up your eyes and see the coming generations pour their millions of free, industrious people over the fertile regions of the South, where aristocrats monopolized thousands of acres of soil and worked them by gangs of purchased laborers driven by the lash, half clad and poorly fed. See that fertile region, covered by cottages and farms of the free laborer, the artisan and the farmer. See the clustering family, bound together by the threefold cord of conjugal, parental and filial love, and clad in the costly fabrics of our own and foreign manufacture, using the utensils and the labor-saving machines of modern agriculture and housewifery. What a contrast with the past! May we not imagine the fathers of the revolution looking down with joy from the battlements of Heaven upon the scene and exclaiming, "the glorious task for which we first flew to arms is accomplished." Then all will say: "Slavery tried to overthrow the Government and the Government was thereby aroused and strengthened, its powers revealed and developed, and its sinews knit together and slavery was itself destroyed. Slavery dugged a pit for freedom and was itself buried therein." The nation will then have thrown off its only burden, its only hindrance, and will enter upon a new career of greater prosperity.

I cannot help believing, sir, that this war was sent by Divine Providence to bless and unite this great people, to uproot the upas that poisoned our atmosphere, to mellow and fertilize the soil in which is to spring up and grow that better order of things for which our country was set apart by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, and from which the nations are to learn the strength and the thrift, the heroism and the glory, which are the proper fruit of institutions truly free.